601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system.
This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

## CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialects a).

●621 (1) Dialect a 1. —A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a2. —Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1); yalhere (b1); yaliririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [22] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [161] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the genealogical chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

• • • •

551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

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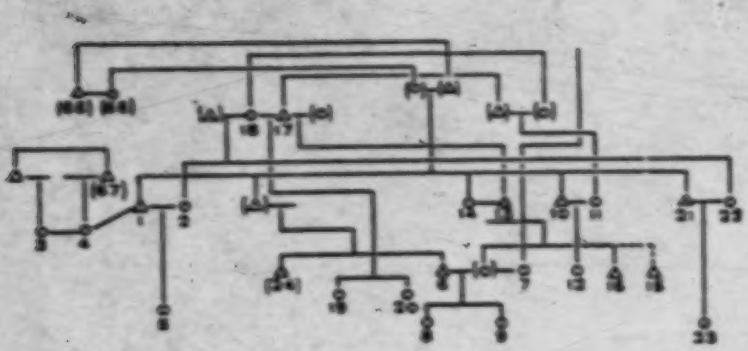

Fig. 11.
Genealogical composition of group a1.

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157 A1. --The chief of the group. He is a man of about 35 years, married to three women: a2, by whom he has a daughter a5, and a3 and a4, both daughters of "sister," without child.

A1 is remarkably intelligent, conscious of his responsibilities, active, enterprising and ingenious. When we went to visit his village, he did not hesitate to follow a new itinerary, unknown to him, because our horses could not pass along the habitual path. And when we arrived at the village, we found the stakes necessary to tie our oxen and horses, which he had had set up by a party sent a few hours ahead of time.

His attitude concerning writing is very revealing. He immediately understood his role of signing (1), and the social superiority which it

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1. The Nambikwara of group a are completely ignorant of drawing, if one excepts a few geometric tracings on gourds. For several days they did not know what to do with the paper and pencils which we distributed to them. A little later, we saw them deeply engrossed in tracing wavy lines. In doing this they were imitating the only use which they had seen us make of our note pads, that is, for writing, but without understanding the purpose and significance.

115 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He is physically robust,
157 amiable, happy and talkative; very much inclined toward erotic
602 jokes. He gives information willingly, with an extreme good will and a tireless volubility. But his explanations are not always clear, and it is necessary to let oneself be guided by his slightly incoherent fantasy.

115 a18.--About 45 years; wife of the preceding, mother of a2 and
157 a22. She is a serious woman, industrious, devoted to her husband and children. She laughs little, talks to herself, and is always busy with some task. Her bits of information are rare, but solid.

a19.--About 10 years. Daughter of the two preceding. She is a very pretty girl, still a child who yet scarcely shows the first signs of puberty. She has in the group a position as "mother," as does her little sister a20. She is a brutal and sometimes violent child, who adopted towards us an attitude confined to hostility. Her language is crude and she gets involved willingly in the most daring pranks. This attitude is at least partially explained, as will be seen farther on, by her age situation.

[45] a20.--Little girl of 5 or 6 years, sister of the preceding: her contemporaries and even some adults call her "mother." She is perfectly insufferable; pretentious, affected, continually greedy for presents or distractions.

A21, a22, a23.--It is difficult to characterize these three individuals who lived, during nearly the whole time of our visit, in an almost absolute state of silent segregation. The baby a23 is not yet weaned, and the state of couvade was to end at the end of our stay. We shall describe later on the operations which sanction return to communal life. A21, 35 to 40 years, is the brother of A1; a22, about 18 years, the sister of a2. A21 was to die by drowning during one of our absences. The baby is 12 to 18 months old.

621 As we have said before, the restricted group such as it has just been described, is temporarily united with other similar bands, or is temporarily swelled by other family groups. Thus to the 6 "fires"(1)

602 1. As the following analysis shows, the family group--that is the restricted group--of the Nambikwara is rather difficult to define. The empiric notion of the hearth seems to us the most clear and practical. It defines the grouping of the individuals who come together in the evening and sleep around the same fire. In group a1 (restricted) studied previously, there are

602 from this point of view, six fires, namely: I (1 to 5); II (6 to 9); III (10 to 12); IV (13 to 16); V (17 to 20); VI (21 to 23).

621 comprising the stable group are added intermittently:

Fire 7 (24 to 28). Five individuals, including: A24, "son" (of an elder brother) of A1 (20 to 25 years), husband of a25 (18 to 20 years), their baby a26 (about 2 years), the father A27 (about 50 years) of a25, and the brother A28 (about 12 years) of the latter.

Fire 8 (29 to 37). --Eight individuals including: A32, chief of the group comprised of fires 7, 8 and 9. About 40 years of age, asukosu of A1; his five wives, a33, a34, a35, a36, "sisters" of each other (18 to 25 years), and their "mother" a37 (about 40 years), besides the 3 children of this latter, a30 and A31 (8 to 11 years) and a29 (about 2 years).

Fire 9 (39 to 41). --Four individuals, that is, two households, whose kinship relationships are obscure. A38 (about 50), "brother" of a2, and his wife a39 (about 45), "sister" of A1; and A40 (about 30), "brother" of A1, and his wife a41 (about 30), "sister" of a2, the two latter "father" and "mother" of a5.

Fire 10 (42 to 47). -- Six persons, including: A42 (about 30 years old), asukosu of A1; his two wives, the one a43 (about 35 years old), "sister" of A1, and the other a44 (about 18 years old), "niece" of A1, and three children, A45 and A46 (9 to 12) and a47 (2 to 3 years).

[46] Fire 11 (48 to 50). --Three individuals: A48, "brother" of A1 and "husband" of a2 (about 35 years old), his wife a49 (about 35 years old), "wife" of A1 and "sister" of a2. They are consequently "father" and "mother" of a5, and their child a50 is her "sister" (3 to 4 years old).

Fire 12 (51 to 56). --Six persons: A51 (about 40 years old), "brother" of A1 and ajikediu of a2, his wife a52, "sister" of a2 (about 40), and four children, a53 (14 years old) and A54, a55 and A56 (6 to 10 years old).

Fire 13 (57 to 61). --Five persons: A57 (about 45), brother of A69, and asukosu of A1, "older brother" of a2; his two wives, one a58, "sister" of A1, the other a59, his "daughter" (20 to 30 years old), and two children, A60 and A61 (3 and 7 years old), both "husbands" of a5.

Fire 14 (62 to 66). --Five persons: A62 (about 42 years old), asukosu of a1 and akeasukosu of a2, his wife a63, "sister" of A1 and of a58, and mother of a3 (about 40 years old), their child a64 (about 5)

621 and two persons whom A1 calls "father" and "mother", A65 (about 50 years old) and a66 (about 50), who live in the home of their "daughter" a63.

Fire 15 (67 to 70). --Four persons form two households: A67 "husband" of a2 and called asoũnosu by A1 because he is the father of his wife a4, and a68, aseẽtasu of a2, but called aẽinosu by A1 because she is the mother of his other wife. And A69 (about 28 years old), "brother" of A42 and asũkosu of A1, married to a70 (about 25), undetermined parentage.

Fire 16 (71 and 72). --A71 (about 30 years old), "brother" of A28 and his wife a72 (about 20 years old), "daughter" of A13 and a14.

Fire 17 (73 to 75). --A73 (about 30 years old), former husband of a12 whom he abandoned, and his two wives a74 and a75 (20 to 25 years old), "sisters" of a5.

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## RULES OF RESIDENCE

591 621 The phenomena of spatial distribution do not seem to have special significance in the essentially nomadic groups. Nevertheless, we shall give the plan of distribution of the families in the nomadic camp (chart I), and in the winter village (chart II) for the restricted group, and the plan of distribution of the families or of the fires in semi-permanent camp for the most numerous combination (chart III). [47]

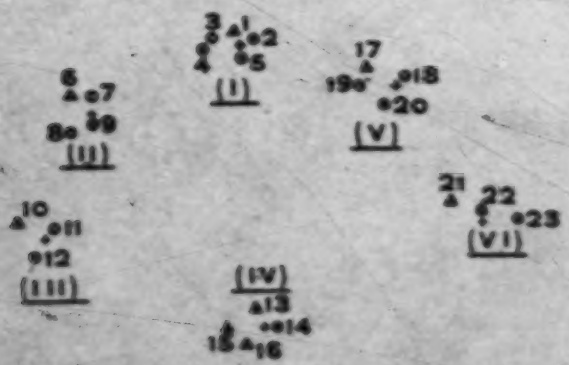


Fig. 12. --Placement of fires (+) and of family groups (▲ : man; ○: woman) in the nomad encampment.

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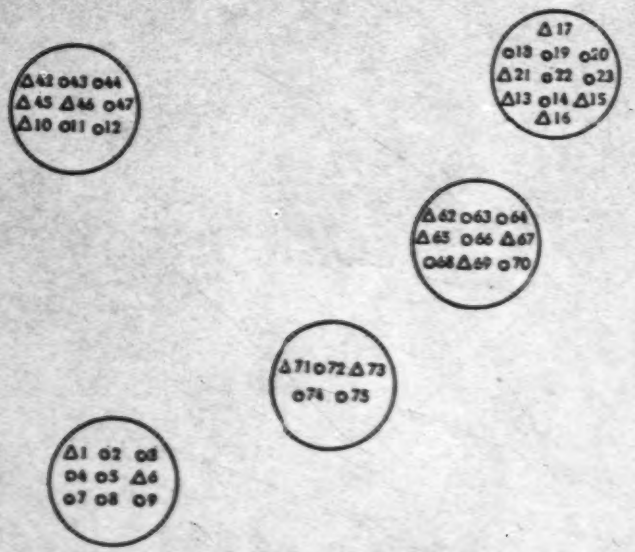


Fig. 13. --Grouping of families in the huts of the winter village.

The examination of these charts calls for several remarks.

(1) The nomadic camp generally obeys fixed rules for the distribution of individuals around the "fires," but not for the distribution of the "fires" in space. Fires 1 to 6 are not distributed in [48] the same way in the nomadic camp (I) and in the general camp (III). In fact, in the latter case, the families arrived one after the other, traveling in groups of two or three, or separately, and came to occupy the available sites. Nevertheless, when the restricted group travels in a single block, its camp is generally in conformance with the distribution given in chart I, which reproduces a camp maintained for one month.

(2) The distribution of the camp fires does not reproduce the distribution of families in the huts of the winter village. However, one will observe that the members of fires 1 and 2, who occupy one and the same hut, camp side by side in chart I, and around the same fire in chart III [49] (but, at this moment, A6 is absent and his family rejoins the fire of his "father"). In the same way, fires 4, 5, and 6, placed side by side in chart I, live together during the winter camping (chart II); but in this latter case, there is a complete separation at the time of the general meeting. It is true that at this moment, A21 has just died, his wife and his baby have rejoined the maternal

[I refers to Fig. II and III refers to Fig. IV. --Translator]

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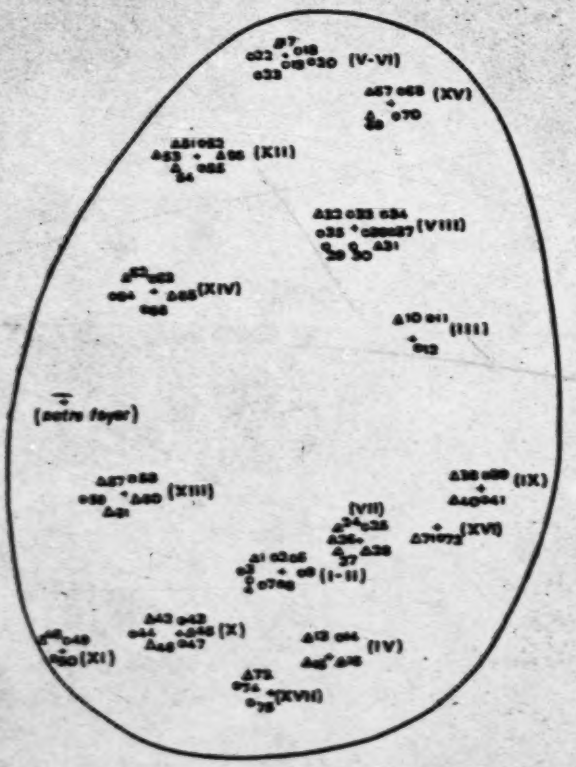


Fig. 14. --Distribution of Families in Temporary Residence.

fire, and the group of six persons has arrived late at the reunion, after an isolated trip. Fires 16 and 17, united at the winter camp (II), are completely isolated in camp (chart III); the same for fires 14 and 15 and for fires 3 and 10.

[29] (3) Since several families join around the same fire, it does not seem possible to deduce any rules of residence, which seems to confirm the impossibility of obtaining from the informants a clear answer to the question of whether the young couples establish themselves separately after marriage, or remain near the parents of the wife or the husband. In two cases, we see the daughters rejoin their parents fire: a12, abandoned by her husband, and a22 at the time of her widowhood. During the winter camp, the household of fire 4 resides with the parents of the husband; and household 6 with the wife's parents (fire 5 in the two cases). Likewise at this time, fire 2 is installed in the hut of the husband's "father." Finally, in two cases, one sees parents, unfit for the economic battle because of age or widowhood, installed at their daughter's fire, as A65 and a66, and

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamãindeti (c) oãindesu, nikõdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

621 We shall comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

[578] without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

621 115 157 622 601 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) joãmditnʔẽ njãnajne heni niho ãmednjẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often

[77] he even asks us for—and preserves carefully—drawings representing

621 feather ornaments, hair styles, arms, such as we have seen among
115 neighboring or faraway peoples. Did he entertain the hope of per-
157 fecting the material and intellectual equipment of his group thanks
622 to this information? It is possible, even though his dreamy tempera-
177 ment hardly ever drives him to realizations. However, one day when
601 we were interrogating him concerning the Pan pipes, to verify the
area of diffusion of that instrument, he answered that he had never
[531] seen any, but that he would like to have a drawing (different from
group a, group b does not have real pipes of Pan, but instruments
made of two or three tubes of equal length and giving approximately
the same note, tied together with cotton thread and wax). With the
aid of our sketch he succeeded in making a crude but usable instru-
ment.

621 B1 had two wives: b2, about 25 years, mother of two little
601 girls of 5 to 7 years, b4 and b5; and b3, older than he (about 40
years old), mother of a boy of 7 years, B6, and of a girl of 9 years,
b7.

Fire 2 (8 and 9). --A son of a deceased brother of B1, whom the
latter then calls "son" (about 25 years old), and his wife about 18,
sister of B13; no information about the father and mother.

Fire 3 (10 to 12). --B10 is a brother of B8, and B1 calls him "son"
also. His wife, b11, of undetermined parentage, is about 20 years
old, and his daughter b12 about 6.

Fire 4 (13 and 14). --This household presents the only sure case of
oblique marriage in group b1. B13, about 25 years, married a girl
of 16 or 17, b14, daughter of a dead son of the dead brother of B1;
he calls her then, as seen before, tasuite.

Fire 5 (15 to 17). --These three individuals are the last survivors
of a related group destroyed by an epidemic. After the disaster,
they joined the band of B1. B15, about 35 years, is the brother of
b2, thus tarute of B1. His wife, the same age, b16, is a sister of B1,
thus ndedere of b2. Their son, B17, is about 5. The daughters of
B1 call him (B17) "husband," and he calls them "wives."

621 [52] The visitors. --They came from the region lying between
574 the sources of the tributaries of the left bank of the Juruena and of
601 those of the right bank of the Guaporé. All were related to their
hosts, and were distributed among three generations. The oldest was
comprised of three individuals: B18, about 50 years old, father of
B21, B25, B27, and B29; his wife b19, the same age, paternal aunt
of B1; and the brother of the wife, B20, 40 years. Besides the
children of B18 already mentioned (from 20 to 30 years old), the next

621 574 601 generation is composed of b26, wife of B25 (about 20 years); of the husband of b29, B28 (about 25); of the wife, b22, of B21 (same age); of his brother B24 (20 years), both children of a deceased sister of B18; and of a widower of about 40 years, B30, brother of B15 and of b2, who had been married to a sister of B1. The young generation is represented by only two children, b23, about 7 years, daughter of B21 and b22, and b31, about 10 years, daughter of B30, mother dead. For the whole picture of genealogical relationships, the reader should refer to Figure 15.

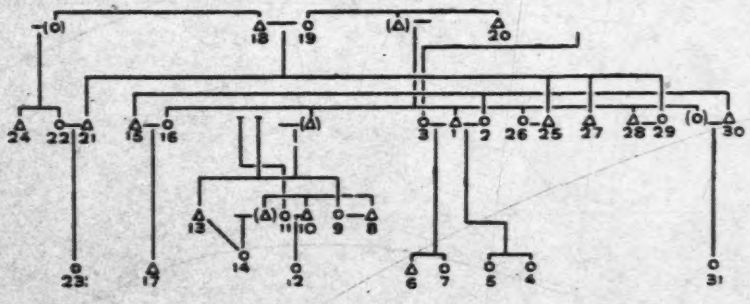

Fig. 15.

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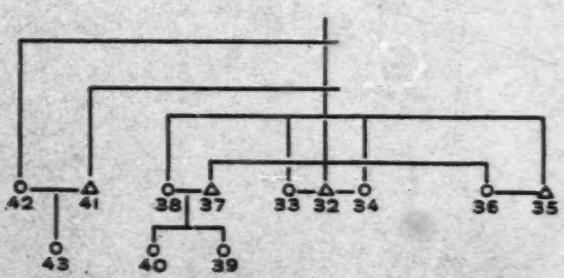

Fig. 16.

621 601 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, lakõnde (b1/2); soyaĩnte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabane (c); tamajnde (b1/2); toãtesu (a 1/2).

[197] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

601 Fire 6 (19 to 22). --The chief, or rather, it seems, the shaman of
621 group c, is 30 to 40 years old, "brother" of c23. His dispositions are
[756] friendly and mysterious. We shall encounter him farther on (2). He

2. P. 103.

has two wives, c19 and [54] c21, very pretty girls of 17 or 18 years, "sisters" of the dead husband of c23. Here we have, then, a good example of sororal polygyny. The second woman has a little boy of 3 years, C22.

Fire 7 (23 to 25). --The woman, c23, is over 40; she is a widow and seems to enjoy great consideration. Her numerous "brothers" provide for her as well as her children, and like C20, she is apt to receive supernatural revelations (1). She has a son, C25, about 14

1. Cf. p. 101.

years old, and a daughter, c24, about 10. Concerning them, refer to page 34.

Fire 8 (26 and 27). --A young couple of about 18, whose parents must be dead and whom the elders of the group call "grandchildren."

Fire 9 (28 to 30). --C28, about 25 years, is a "son" of C6; his wife, c29 is older than he (over 40); she is called "daughter" by c19 and c21, although they are by far younger than she; her daughter c30 is about 2 years old.

Fire 10 (31 to 33). --c32, about 40 years old, is a younger sister of c23; she has two daughters: the eldest, c31, about 17, is married; the younger, c33, still a baby. The husband and her son-in-law are absent; they are said to be on a trip together. The group sees to the needs of the two women.

It is suitable to add a visitor to this list, C34, about 30 years old.
[574] He is the brother of c12 and, during his stay, he receives the hospitality of household number 4.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

### Husbands and Wives

593 To understand well the attitude of the two sexes as concerns one another, it is indispensible to keep in mind the fundamental character

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"--which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarũte--can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted 621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern 182 184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or- [91] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

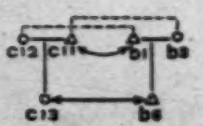


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarûte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jôpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarûte or jôpa (asûkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited

622 discovering grains or fruits, [87] groves of piquy (a type of fir), of
623 caju (Anacardium sylvestre), the heads of streams frequented by small game, where to lead his group, always searching for means of subsistence. His role is also that of maintaining internal discipline and of opposing the bad intentions of recalcitrants:

29. odnanjenoutonje hutonto igalagatjene (b1)
Lazy one, I order you, that is enough, to work!

The only sanction at his disposition is that of obtaining the agreement of his companions to expell one who has become guilty of a fault (1) or who shows himself to be rebellious to collective life.

1. Cf. below, p. 111.

But that is only possible in the case where a single member of the group shows lack of discipline. The chief should show a continual talent which is more closely related to electoral politics than to the exercise of power, to maintain his group, and if possible, to enlarge it by new adherents. The nomadic band in fact represents a fragile
622 unit. If the authority of the chief becomes too demanding, if he
621 monopolizes too great a number of women, if he is not capable in periods of need of resolving the food problems, discontent is created, individuals or families break away, and go to attach themselves to a related band whose affairs seem to be better conducted--better nourished thanks to the discovery of a hunting or collecting site, or richer because of barter with neighboring groups, or more powerful after victorious wars. The chief then finds himself at the head of a too restricted group, incapable of facing daily difficulties, or whose women are exposed to being carried off by stronger neighbors, and he is obliged to renounce his command in order to join a more happy faction with his faithful followers; the Nambikwara society is thus in a state of perpetual flux. Groups form, are broken up, grow and disappear and, in several months' time sometimes the composition, number and division of bands become unrecognizable. All of these transformations are accompanied by intrigues and conflicts, by rises and falls, the whole being produced at an extremely rapid rhythm.

622 In exchange for the authority which they recognise in him, his companions are very demanding in regard to their chief; and if a decision made by him places the group in some difficulty, he is left alone to find means of surmounting it. We remember a trip undertaken by mutual consent, rendered more difficult than had been thought by the necessity of discovering a new itinerary along which our mules

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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Gardening exists only during the rainy season and does not free the Nambikuara from wandering during the seven months of the dry season, looking for wild roots, fruits and seeds, small animals such as lizards, snakes, bats, spiders and grasshoppers and, generally speaking, anything which may prevent them from starving. As a matter of fact, their geographical surroundings, which are located in the northwestern part of the state of Mato Grosso and include the headwaters of the Tapajos, Rio Roosevelt and Rio Gi-Parana, consist of a desolated savanna with few vegetal resources and still less game.

Had I approached my subject from a point of view other than the one outlined above, I could not have avoided a long discussion in South American cultural history, aimed at clearing up this apparent primitiveness, on the question as to whether the survival of early conditions of life in South America is genuine or whether we should consider it as a more recent—although undoubtedly pre-columbian—result of culture clashes and processes of acculturation. Whatever the answer may be, it cannot substantially change our problem: whether tarriant or recessive, the Nambikuara society *functions*, in the present, as one of the simplest forms of human society to be conceived. We shall not seek information from the particular history which kept them in their exceptionally crude organization or brought them back to it. We shall only look at the experiment in social anthropology which they now enact under our very eyes.

This holds especially true in respect to their social and political life. For if we do not know what was the material culture of the Nambikuara forty years ago (they were discovered only in 1907), we do know that their numbers became tremendously reduced after their contact with white civilization. General (then Colonel) Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who discovered and studied them, first stated that their number was about 20,000. This was around 1915. I take this figure as greatly exaggerated, but even if reduced by one half, it considerably exceeds the present number which is hardly more than 2,000. Epidemics have taken care of the difference. What does this mean, from the point of view of our study? During the dry season, the Nambikuara live in nomadic bands, each one under the leadership of a chief, who, during the sedentary life of the rainy months, may be either a village chief or a person of position. General Rondon wrote that, at the time he was exploring the country, it was not rare to see bands averaging two or three hundred individuals. Now, sixty or seventy

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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621 people are seldom met together, the average size of the bands being twenty individuals, women and children included. This demographic collapse cannot possibly have taken place without affecting the structure of the band. But here, too, we do not need to concern ourselves 121 with such questions as the type of political organization in earlier times. It is probably more difficult to understand Nambikuara sociology now than it was thirty years ago. Perhaps, on the contrary, the much reduced Nambikuara band offers, better than in the past, a privileged field for a study in social anthropology. My contention is that, precisely on account of its extreme impoverishment, Nambikuara political structure lays bare some basic functions which may remain hidden in more complex and elaborate systems of government.

[361] Each year, at the end of the rainy season, that is, in April or in early May, the semi-permanent dwellings laid in the vicinity of the 621 gallery-forest where the gardens are cleared and tilled, are abandoned and the population splits into several bands formed on a free choice basis. Each band includes from two to about ten families usually tied by kinship. This may be misleading when a band is met, for one easily gets the impression that it is formed as an extensive family. It 601 does not take long to discover, however, that the kinship tie between [602] two families belonging to separate bands may be as close, and eventually closer, than between two families inside the same band. The [512] Nambikuara have a simple kinship system based on cross-cousin marriage and the subsequent dichotomy between "cross" and "parallel" in every generation. Therefore, all the men in one generation are either "brothers" or "brothers-in-law," and men and women are to one another either siblings (true or classificatory) or spouses (true or classificatory). Similarly, children are, in relation to the adults, either sons and daughters (true or classificatory) or nephews and nieces, which is the same as actual or potential children-in-law.[1] As a result, there is no great choice of terms to express kinship, and this explains why kinship inside the band may appear closer than it actually is, and kinship between people belonging to different bands more remote than shown 602 by genealogies. Furthermore, a bilateral cross-cousin marriage sys- 621 tem functioning in a relatively small tribe must produce a progressive narrowing, and even a multiplication, of the kinship ties between any two individuals. This is a supplementary reason preventing family

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss. "The Social Use of Kinship Terms among Brazilian Indians." American Anthropologist, 45 (3) 1943.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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relationship from becoming really operative in the constitution of the band. It can be said that, inside the band as well as between the different bands which are the offspring of the same temporary village, everybody is everybody's kin, in pretty much the same fashion.

Why then the splitting-up process? Two different considerations must be brought forth to answer this question. From an economic point of view, the scarcity of wild food resources and the subsequent high square-mileage needed to feed one individual during the nomadic period make the division into small bands almost compulsory. The real question is not why there is a division but rather on what basis it takes place. I have said that this is done by free choice, but this freedom is not arbitrary. There are, in the initial group, several men acknowledged as leaders (who likely acquired this reputation from their behavior during the nomadic life) and who make the relatively stable nuclei around which the different aggregates center. The importance, as well as the permanence of the aggregate through successive years, depend largely upon the ability of each of these leaders to keep his rank and eventually to improve it. Thus, it may be said that leadership does not exist as a result of the band's needs, but, instead, that the band receives its shape, its size, and even its origin, from the potential leader who antedates it.

There is, however, a continuous function of leadership, although not permanently assumed by the same individual. Among the Nambikuara, chieftainship is not hereditary. When a chief grows old, or is taken ill, and when he does not feel able to fulfill his heavy duty any more, he himself designates his successor. "This one—this one will be the chief . . ." he says. It seems likely that this autocratic power to insure one's own succession is more apparent than real. We shall emphasize later on the small amount of authority enjoyed by the chief and, in this case as in many others, the final decision is probably preceded by a careful survey of public opinion, the designated heir being, at the same time, the one with the greater support from the members of the band. The appointment of the new chief is not only limited by the wishes or disapproval of the band; it needs also to correspond to the plans of the individual to be chosen. Not seldom, does the offer of leadership meet with a vehement refusal: "I don't want to be the chief." Then a new choice must be made. As a matter of fact, chieftainship does not seem to be coveted by many people, and the general attitude of the different chiefs I happened to know was less to brag about their

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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are to be cultivated; and, generally speaking, he will organize the occupations according to the seasons' needs and possibilities. 622

These rather versatile duties, it should be pointed out from the start, are not facilitated by any fixed power or recognized authority. Consent is at the origin of leadership, and consent, too, furnishes the only measure of its legitimacy. Disorderly conduct (according to the native standards) and unwillingness to work on the part of one or two discontented individuals may seriously jeopardize the chief's program and the welfare of his small group. In this eventuality, however, the chief has no coercivitive power at his disposal. The eviction of the bad people can take place only in so far as the chief is able to make public feeling coincide with his own opinion. Thus, he must continuously display a skill belonging more to the politician trying to keep hold of his fluctuating majority than to an over-powering ruler. Furthermore, he does not only need to keep his group together. Although the band lives practically alone and by itself during the nomadic period, the existence of the other bands is not forgotten. It is not enough to do well; the chief must try—and his people count on him for that—to do better than the others. [627]

No social structure is weaker and more fragile than the Nambikuara band. If the chief's authority appears too exacting, if he keeps too many women for himself (I shall later analyse the special features of the chief's polygamy), or if he does not satisfactorily solve the food problem in times of scarcity, discontent will very likely appear. Then, individuals, or families, will separate from the group and join another band believed to be better managed. For instance, this band may get better fare from the discovery of new hunting or gathering emplacements; or it may have become richer in ornaments or implements, through trade with neighboring groups, or more powerful as a result of a successful war expedition. The day will come when the chief finds himself heading a group too small to face the problems of daily life, and to protect his women from the covetousness of other bands. In such cases, he will have no alternative but to give up his command and to rally, together with his last followers, a happier faction. Therefore, Nambikuara social structure appears continuously on the move. The bands take shape, then disorganise, they increase and they vanish. Within a few months, sometimes, their composition, number and distribution cannot be recognised. Political intrigues within the same band and conflicts between bands impose their rhythm upon these fluc- 621 627

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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[621] 622 tuations, and the ascent or decline of individuals and groups follow each other in a rather surprising manner.

How will the chief be able to overcome these difficulties? The first instrumental force of his power lies in his generosity. Generosity —an all important feature of chieftainship among most primitive peoples, especially in America—plays an outstanding part even on those crude cultural levels where worldly goods are limited to the most primitive weapons and tools, coarse ornaments made of feathers, shells and bones, and raw materials, such as lumps of resin and wax, hanks of fiber and splinters of bamboo for arrow-making. There cannot be great economic distinctions between families each of which can pack [462] all of its belongings in the baskets carried along by the women during [556] the long travels of the dry season. But, although the chief does not seem to fare better, in this respect, than the others, he must always have at hand surpluses of food, tools, weapons, ornaments which, while being small indeed, acquire great value because of the scarcity which is the prevalent condition. When an individual, a family or the band itself needs or covets something, the chief is called upon to secure the desired article. Generosity is the quality, much speculated on, which is expected of a new chief. Generosity is the string constantly struck which makes the general consent to one's leadership sound clear or out of tune. There is little doubt that, in this respect, the chief's ability to give is exploited to the utmost. Band chiefs used to be my best informants, and, well aware of their difficult position, I liked to reward them liberally; but I seldom saw one of my many gifts remain in their hands for more than a few days. Each time I took leave of a band, after a few weeks or a few months, its members had time to become the happy hoarders of axes, knives, beads, and so on. As a rule, however, the chief was exactly as poor as at my first arrival. Everything he had received from me (and this was considerably more than the average) had already been squeezed out of him. This collective greediness not seldom drives the chief to an almost desperate position; then the refusal to give plays about the same part, in this primitive democracy, as the threat to resign followed by a vote of confidence in a modern parliament. When a chief reaches the point where he must say: "To give away is over! To be generous is over! Let another be generous in my place!", he must, indeed, be sure of his power and prestige, for his rule is undergoing its severest crisis.

Ingenuity is but the intellectual form of generosity. A great deal

missaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakitiau band, a short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elóitaxe, the members of the band are Wakitiau and related to one another. Julio took the Elóitaxe woman from the Elóitaxe band by killing her husband. He claims he did this because the Elóitaxe chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes. The Wakitiau wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salumã or Saikoré, probably the Apiaka whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[17] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the 13 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are 101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Eléitesu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Sutina River; the Wakítesu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwétesu now including the Hágudesu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindesu on the Kabíxi River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Támdisú and Sokóndesu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Wakítesu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Wakítesu, Eléitesu, and Kitánhlu the Iriteo; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwétesu and Hágudesu are called the Mandeos by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iriteo and Mandeos by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
• 62 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
62 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Wakitiau, 18; Kitahlu, 45, Hitatau, 17; Chiwtiau, 50. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half as many exist today. It must be remembered [164] that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires do Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hisipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Noticia published in 1746, he mentions the Cayre Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres do Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixi, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26-51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Parecí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravari River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyrineus de Souza between Campos Novos and

[p. 84(8)]

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white man having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwakáiwa*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, cumbarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wakáiwa*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yakáiwáiwa*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'wandjáiwa*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *ólwa*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *oaiwa*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *dzapandáiwa*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

## SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

361 621 circle at least one stretch of river and the "galeria" forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaidzu*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *sidzeu*. At present the Wakitiu band has one house (*sive*) at the place 342 621 where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around [513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made in the same way. [343 346] Houses of this type are from 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinadéuktsiwa*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*sikéwtsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*sintsutsi*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places [241] the same camp site will be used repeatedly. When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted 415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows, [482 462] and tools used by men. When they move, these articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Wakitiu do not

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

●621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
859 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
[252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
262 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
[177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buriti cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a length of buriti fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 18) $\frac{1}{A}$

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
●621 to the band territory. The Wakîtisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*wakîtsu*) in their territory. The Elôtesu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*tatu*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitânhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tanhtu*. The Chiwtisu are bee people from the word *wasiu*, bee. The Hâgnâisu are buriti fruit (*hâtsu*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Wakîtisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *pakatahurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *ekikkidilisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *ekikkidilisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the pierce bow and taught them how

$\frac{2}{n}$ [Cat. 116, p. 123.–Nambicuara] [p. 96 (A)]

648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterised by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The relations with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Saltámsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

721

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's enemies and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Eléteu reaches puberty she will return to the

[p. 98(R)]

621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayáiaru* (grandfather) and the term *gnatakóiaru* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awiniru* (father) and the term *akakíniru* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *akainuru* and mother's brother *arainuru*. A man calls his older brother *akanánuru*, his younger brother *dandidniru*, and his sisters *awidinuru*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirúru*) and daughter (*akenúru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *arudíu* and *aninu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *arákiru* and that for female cross cousin, *dandu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *pantandiuruwa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*anáu*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amandiu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*arainuru*), and mother-in-law (*akainuru*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakíltisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

534 *kadáwa*, the nose flute, *naittáwa*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dútu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *ohhádidiu* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tsuptá*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tsuptá* and *dihnáwa* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurá* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *wáiarku* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*sydokadiu*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

619 But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each ●[621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *enánau* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *enánau* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *enánau*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
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sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

*tordię ialdsiętę*

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabãnę* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tarãnãę* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[421] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village sicũ, while the Anunze call it chicẽ. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[343] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

They change their dwelling place frequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.